

In addition, it supports prepaid tuition plans that many of our States are now pursuing, where parents can actually choose a college or group of colleges within a State and pay the tuition early and thus avoid the cost of inflation and put themselves in a position where they can better afford the cost of education as their children get older and the costs go up.

In addition, it expands the deduction for student loan interest, a very important element in having the ability to go to college or go to graduate school and to be able to get a loan and still be able to pay it back. This expansion of the deduction will have a positive impact in that area.

It expands study awards and assists employers who are assisting their employees in higher education. It is a very significant effort to make higher education more affordable for the families of America.

In addition, the bill has another major element which is absolutely critical, especially in New Hampshire. That is, it says that the Federal Government is financially going to step up to its obligation to special ed children. A long time ago we passed something called 94142, which was an excellent bill, the purpose of which was to make special education more readily available to children who needed it.

The concept was that the Federal Government would pay 40 percent of the cost and the States would pay 60 percent of the costs. Today, unfortunately, the Federal Government is only paying about 6 percent of the costs that are borne in order to care for a child who has special requirements in education.

As a result, this has put a huge burden on the local communities and the local school systems. States like New Hampshire, which rely heavily on real estate taxes to support their schools, or even States that rely on State government income taxes or sales taxes, find that a large percentage of the tax dollars they are raising for education are going to support what should have been the Federal obligation to help out with the special education child.

As we all know, the special education child can, in instances, cost \$100,000 or more as compared with a child going through the system in an average school system which may cost \$4,000. So it can skew dramatically the ability to apply resources to benefit other children in the system because of the fact that the Federal Government has shirked its obligation to come forward with its 40 percent, as it said it would when it initially passed this bill a long time ago.

So what we have proposed as Republicans is that the Federal Government will finally step forward and fund special education at near the 40-percent level. We are talking about a \$10 billion increase in funding for special education, which increase will be met by ramping up, over a series of years, 7 years, and thus allowing the States and

the communities to free up those education dollars which they are now using in order to support the Federal obligation to care for the special ed child, to educate the special ed child, to free up those dollars to use them to expand education activity for other children in the school system.

If you want to look at it in its cleanest sense, it is actually going to be the largest block grants to local education the Federal Government has ever pursued. It should have occurred earlier, but it is going to occur now as a result of the commitment that has been made by the Republican majority here in the Senate.

The sign that it is going to occur is the fact that we already made the downpayment. In the last session—and this did not get much attention unfortunately; it should have gotten a lot more attention; I do not know why it did not get a lot more attention; maybe it was because of a national election and people wanted jingle on their positions—but in the last budget process last September we, as Republican Members of the Senate, put \$730 million more into special education than the present funding was. We increased it by that amount of money.

It was a downpayment on this effort to try to fully fund the 40 percent that the Federal Government originally said it was going to fund. As a result, a State like New Hampshire will receive an increase of approximately \$3 million. That is a lot of money to help out with the special education issues.

So we are not talking in rosy scenarios here. We are not using words. We are not trying to create perceptions. We are talking in terms of deeds. We have already made the downpayment on this effort to expand our commitment to special education. And now with the putting forward of the Republican list of initiatives for this Congress, we are making it very clear that we are going to follow through on that commitment.

This will be positive for the children across this country and for the educational systems across this country. I think Republicans can take great pride that we at least have been willing to step up to this very critical issue of first educating our children in college and relieving the pressure on parents who are trying to send their children to college; and, second, helping out with the special ed needs which the States have for so long borne but which the Federal Government has for so long said it would bear.

Madam President, I yield back my time.

Mr. FORD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. FORD. Madam President, I want to use the 5 minutes that has been assigned to the minority, and I ask unanimous consent I have such time as I need beyond that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. FORD. I thank the Chair very much.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM IN THE 105TH CONGRESS

Mr. FORD. Madam President, as we begin a new Congress, we begin with the hope that the bipartisanship that existed at the end of the 104th Congress will carry through the 105th Congress.

Together, Democrats and Republicans were able to put aside partisan differences and pass meaningful and important legislation, from raising the minimum wage to the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care bill, to the reauthorization of the Federal Aviation Administration and the airport improvement program, and adding additional funds to education.

Madam President, I think in not only the minds of some in this body but the general public, one glaring example where we fail to come together is campaign finance reform. While the American people saw that we can work together to pass legislative solutions to everyday problems, the American people also saw our failure to restore integrity to our political system with the passage of campaign finance reform.

Unfortunately, this last election cycle once again demonstrates that we need fundamental campaign finance reform. This last election cycle demonstrated that the money chase continues. Only this time, the pace was more intense.

Preliminary figures from the Federal Election Commission for the 1996 cycle are astounding. Fundraising by the Republican and Democrat Parties—"parties" I underscore—in the period from January 1, 1995, through November 25, 1996, totaled \$882 million. That represents a 73-percent increase over the same period for the 1992 Presidential election cycle.

The largest increase in funding and spending by the parties was soft money. The Republican National Committee raised \$141.2 million, a 183-percent increase over 1992's \$49.8 million. Republicans spent \$149.6 million compared to their spending in the 1992 election cycle, an increase of 224 percent. Democrats raised \$122 million, a 237-percent increase over 1992's \$36.5 million, and spent \$117.3 million, a 250-percent increase over 1992 when Democrats spent \$32.9 million.

Madam President, the money chase does not stop there. Based on reports by the Federal Election Commission, congressional candidates—that includes the House and the Senate—spending may be at an all-time high. Totals for both the House and the Senate general election candidates show they raised \$659.6 million, an 8-percent increase over 1994. That is in addition to the other money that I am talking about. So we are nearing the \$2 billion figure as it relates to spending in campaign finance in campaigning.

One thing we will become in the House and the Senate will be bit players in the political aspects of this country—bit players because money will put us on television and money will do the work for us. So the big player will become the consultant, will become television, become advertising, and so we will become bit players in this stage called the American political system.

An average winning Senate candidate in all 34 races this past election spent \$4.4 million. Compared to 1994, this represents, by the way, an 8-percent decrease. However, the States in which Senate races were held in 1996 included most of the smaller and less populated States. Nevertheless, when you break down the \$4.4 million per race, that means the average a candidate would have to raise is approximately \$13,969 each week for 6 years. Someone dismissed that figure by saying that most candidates raise approximately 80 percent of their funds in the 2 years prior to the election. If you accept that statistic, then the amount you have to raise each week occurring in that 2-year period is almost \$34,000. With those statistics, one would be hard pressed to argue that there is no money chase.

Some have suggested that we simply do not spend enough in our elections. They have even been so bold as to suggest that we should spend more. They say we spend more on bubble gum than we spend on elections. Well, this is not about bubble gum. This is about running this great country of ours and keeping it on the right track and a leader of the world.

How much more can we spend, Madam President, when you have to raise \$13,000 a week for every week of your Senate term? How can we say that we are truly doing the people's business? The more time that we have to devote to raising money, the less time we have to commit to our constituents. That is certainly the perception of the average citizen. I argue that this is one area where the perception is the reality.

Furthermore, Madam President, I suggest that the more money raised and spent in our elections does not necessarily mean that we have better campaigns. Al Hunt recently wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* that there is enough anecdotal evidence to suggest that the more candidates spend, the more negative the campaign. No, Madam President, I do not believe the answer is more money in our election. Rather, I believe, that the solution for real and effective campaign finance reform must include spending limits. The terms of those limits should be open to negotiation and discussion. In the end, there cannot be any real and meaningful reform without spending limits.

Changing the current system is difficult. You can understand why someone opposes changing the status quo because it is a system that got them in office, and by and large keeps them in office. I recognize that spending limits

pose constitutional difficulties. I believe that we can craft a system of voluntary spending limits that will sustain constitutional scrutiny by the Supreme Court. I also believe that in order to restore the integrity of our political system, imposing spending limits is the right course of action. If we must—and I underscore if we must—then it might be worth the task to amend the Constitution.

The fact is, Madam President, when it comes to putting an overall cap on candidate spending, the Congress is way behind the curve. Just this past November, I believe the voters in the great State of Maine passed a ballot initiative that would impose spending limits on their State races.

I direct the attention of my colleagues to my own home State of Kentucky. In 1995, we had our first gubernatorial election with spending limits, \$1.8 million. The previous election was \$12 million. Overall, these reforms in my State worked well for the candidates and for the voters. The Kentucky system has a general election spending cap of \$1.8 million. Everyone agrees the Kentucky system still has some problems and some loopholes that need to be addressed. But on the whole, I think the candidates and the electorate approved of the spending limit plan. In fact, spending limits in the Kentucky race changed the overall course of the election. With a limit on the amount they could spend, both the Republican and the Democrat candidates had to revise the campaign play book.

Spending limits put a premium on debates. A premium on debates—think about that. You try not to debate your opponent in this day and age, you try to stay away from him because he is unknown, the people are not knowledgeable. So you do not want to give him any publicity, so you do not want to have debates, maybe one or two on educational television that maybe nobody would watch while there is a basketball game, football game, or baseball game going on at that time. I have seen it. I played that game. I am no spring chicken at this game. I am still spry, but no spring chicken.

In fact, the spending limits put a premium on debates and joint appearances across our Commonwealth. The candidates didn't fly; they drove because it saved money. They were looking for every Rotary Club, Lion's Club, every J.C. Club, whatever groups were together. They were wanting to express their desires and hopes for the future of our great State. Overall, I think most Kentuckians were pleased with the results, because the candidates came and talked about issues rather than being on television. The net result was a better informed electorate and therefore a better campaign.

So, Madam President, I believe that the terms of spending limits should be open to negotiation. All items should be on the table for discussion. But I believe that we simply cannot have effective

and meaningful reform without the restriction of limits that one might spend in a campaign.

In addition to spending limits for congressional campaigns, meaningful reform also requires us to close the soft money loophole. As I mentioned earlier, we saw a dramatic increase by the national parties in the raising and spending of soft money.

We also need to address issues like independent expenditures and issue advocacy. Recent decisions by the Supreme Court require the Congress, I think, to reexamine the current law. We cannot prevent an individual or group of individuals from engaging in political activity independent of a candidate or political party. But we can make sure that such activities are truly independent and that those expenditures are adequately and fully disclosed to the Federal Election Commission. We will hear a little more about the hand-off funding as we proceed into the debate on campaign finance reform. If you don't understand hand-off funding, see me or listen to one of my speeches. I will try to tell you what that is.

Finally, Madam President, I believe that we need to examine the structure and authority of the Federal Election Commission. If we are going to have an agency charged with a mission to enforce our campaign finance laws, then I believe it is incumbent upon us to make sure that the FEC has the authority and the means by which to execute that authority.

As the former chairman of the Rules Committee and now ranking member, I have sat through countless hearings on the issue of campaign finance reform. I can go back to the archives of the Rules Committee and produce volumes and volumes and volumes of testimony and printed records of hearings where the committee received testimony from Members, from professors, from campaign consultants, and all the election experts you could ever think up. We can easily identify the problems. The question is, Are we ready to try to work on solutions? The problems are there and we understand them, but are we ready to work on solutions?

Madam President, with all due respect, we do not need more hearings on these issues. We know all too well what the problems are. We need to sit down together—and I underscore together—to craft the solutions. In the past, campaign finance reform has been an issue that has received too much lip service. We can no longer afford to let the opportunity to enact meaningful reform pass us by. The time to act is now. I hope that we can move forward and make campaign finance reform one of the first and lasting accomplishments of the 105th Congress. I know that many of my colleagues share a similar commitment to reforming our campaign finance laws. I look forward to working with my colleagues. Hopefully, through this campaign finance reform, we can restore trust and we

can restore integrity to our electoral system by enacting meaningful campaign finance reform legislation.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, I know my colleagues have been waiting patiently. Would they mind if I went ahead for a few minutes?

Mr. GRAMS. That is fine.

(The remarks of Mr. NICKLES pertaining to the introduction of S. 9 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

(The remarks of Mr. NICKLES, Mr. GRAMS, and Mr. HUTCHINSON pertaining to the introduction of S. 9 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

1996 YEAR END REPORT

The mailing and filing date of the 1996 Year End Report required by the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended, is Friday, January 31, 1997. Principal campaign committees supporting Senate candidates file their reports with the Senate Office of Public Records, 232 Hart Building, Washington, DC 20510-7116.

The Public Records office will be open from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. on the filing date to accept these filings. In general, reports will be available the day after receipt. For further information, please contact the Public Records office on (202) 224-0322.

REGISTRATION OF MASS MAILINGS

The filing date for 1996 fourth quarter mass mailings is January 27, 1997. If a Senator's office did no mass mailings during this period, a form should be submitted that states "none."

Mass mailing registrations, or negative reports, should be submitted to the Senate Office of Public Records, 232 Hart Building, Washington, DC 20510-7116.

The Public Records Office will be open from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. on the filing date to accept these filings. For further information, please contact the Public Records office on (202) 224-0322.

TRIBUTE TO FORMER SENATOR PAUL TSONGAS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, it is with great sadness that we learned last weekend of the death of our former colleague from Massachusetts, Paul Tsongas. Paul served in the House of Representatives for 4 years, from 1975 to 1979, and in the Senate for 6 years, from 1979 to 1985. All of us who knew him respected him and admired him.

Paul was a great friend, a great Congressman for the people of Lowell, a great Senator for the State of Massachusetts. He had a special dedication to public service that began as a Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia in the

1960's and endured throughout his brilliant career, including his 1992 Presidential campaign.

As a Lowell city councilor, a county commissioner, Congressman, Senator, and Presidential candidate he had a special vision of America as it ought to be. Above all, he had an extraordinary personal and political courage. It was a courage demonstrated during his long illness and in all aspects of his years in public service. He often took stands that were unpopular. He had strongly held beliefs and he fought hard for them regardless of the passing political cause. He cared more for the truth than public opinion. And the people of Massachusetts loved him all the more because of it.

President Kennedy would have called him a "profile in courage."

One of his enduring legacies is the Lowell National Historic Park, which symbolized a great deal about his commitment to Lowell and to that entire region of our State. He had the vision to conceive the park and the skill to achieve it. In a larger sense, it also typified his unique ability to find new ways to see old problems. Where others saw a fading mill town, Paul saw the opportunity for rebirth, growth, and a thriving new economy.

He applied that same dedication to new ways of thinking in everything he did in our State, our country, and our common planet, yet he had both a realistic and idealistic vision of a better future and a powerful commitment to reach it so no one would be left out or left behind.

He reminded me of Robert Kennedy. As my brother often said, "Some people see things as they are and say, why. I dream things that never were and say, why not?" That was true of Paul Tsongas as well. We will miss him very much. Our hearts go out to his wife Niki, his sisters, Thaleia and Vicki, all the members of his wonderful family, his three daughters, Ashley, Katina, and Molly.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that editorials from the Lowell Sun and the Boston Globe be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Lowell Sun, January 20, 1997]

COMING HOME

When he stood in the raindrops at Boarding House Park, Paul Tsongas spoke of embarking upon his "journey of purpose" to become the President of the United States.

We in Lowell knew better.

We in Lowell knew Paul Tsongas' purposeful journey began long before he tossed his hat into the presidential ring, and endured long after his candidacy came to an end.

For Citizen Paul Tsongas, his journey to make his city and his world a better place began as soon as he was old enough to make a difference, and continued—with as much passion and purpose as ever—until it ended all too soon Saturday night.

Let others talk about Sen. Tsongas' extraordinary contributions to the national landscape—as they should and will.

Let us in Lowell talk about contributions far more significant and enduring.

Let us talk about a man who brought a remarkable wife to Lowell, and a father who raised three wonderful children in the city of his birth.

Because before all else—before all the politics and the presidential campaigns—Paul Tsongas devoted his life to his beloved and cherished wife and daughters. And even if his journey consisted "only" of Nicola, Katina, Ashley and Molly, he would have succeeded—grandly—in making this city and this world a better place in which to live.

If a man's legacy is first and foremost his family, Paul Tsongas' journey has left us all with a living legacy to cherish and honor as we do his own life.

For years, we in Lowell have needed Paul Tsongas. Now it is time for all of us to begin to repay our debt to him by reaching out to Nicola, Katina, Ashley and Molly with our arms, our hearts and our prayers.

They surely don't need us to tell them, but we should let them know just how proud we are of her husband and their father, and how much we, too, will miss him.

For those who knew Paul Tsongas—and so many in this city were privileged by his friendship—we knew him first as a husband and a father. In these parts, he was not Sen. Tsongas. He was "just" Paul Tsongas, a guy who clearly was happiest not on the firing lines of City Hall or Capitol Hill, but rather in his back yard on Mansur Street.

'Our' Paul Tsongas was not a politician or a presidential candidate. He was something much more special than that.

He was Tsongy—our neighbor and our friend. A guy who may have been better at driving his kids to school than he was at driving legislation through the U.S. Senate. A hard-working environmentalist whose most beloved contribution to the greening of America was surely cleaning up and landscaping Kittredge Park, on his hands and knees, as content as a man could be.

Let others applaud and exalt the contributions Rep. and Sen. Tsongas made to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—as they should and will. Let the national pundits and politicians ponder what contributions a President Tsongas would have made to the country—as surely he would have.

We in Lowell need only walk through our city to celebrate—every day—what Paul Tsongas did for his hometown.

A national park here, a Boarding House Park there. The Wang Towers over there, and an arena going up just over here. And here's one of our new middle schools, not too far from our downtown hotel. And just over there, where the river bends, we're going to have a brand new ball park for Lowell's own minor league ball club. You know, the Spinners, the team Paul Tsongas brought to town.

Let those on the national stage talk about the bumpy, bizarre and truly incredible road which Paul Tsongas nearly traveled to the White House.

Here, in Lowell, we'll walk and talk about the most important roads in Paul Tsongas' life—Highland Street, where he lived as a child. Gorham Street, where young Paul toiled in his father's dry cleaning store. And Mansur Street, where Paul Tsongas of Lowell lived and raised his family.

Let other congressmen and senators and presidents talk about the unique contribution Paul Tsongas made to deficit reduction and our grandkids at the Concord Coalition.

Here, in Lowell, we'll reminisce about the first and most important budget Paul Tsongas ever balanced in his life—the one in that dry cleaning shop on Gorham.

We knew The Road from Here would always lead back to Lowell.

And even though his journey of purpose often took Paul Tsongas to bigger cities and